

THE PSYCHOSOCIAL VULNERABILITIES OF MIGRANTS RETURNED FROM GULF STATES IN AMHARA REGIONAL STATE

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ABSTRACT

Background: Though the vulnerability of out ward migrants started from the routes of migration, they are often faced with significant challenges once they arrived at the host countries. Enduring community violence, political torture and the loss of their homes, livelihood, family and loved ones forced refugees to experience depression, anxiety and PTSD.

Objective: The general objective of this study is to investigate the psychosocial vulnerabilities of returnee migrants from Gulf States in Amhara Regional State.

Design: This study employed cross sectional survey design consisting only quantitative data.

Result: The result of the current study shows that Gulf state migrant returnees who were exposed to abuse are 37.8 % times (95% CI [15.058, 95.225]) more likely manifesting symptoms of depression when they are compared with those who were not exposed to abuse. It is also investigated that those who were exposed to abuse are 63.4% times (95% CI [21.848, 184.129]) more likely in manifesting symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder when compared with those who were not exposed to abuse.

Conclusion: The research investigated that those found to be exposed to different forms of abuse exhibited higher degree of both depression and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms than the non-abuse counterparts.

Recommendation: Both governmental and non-governmental organizations working with women and youth in addition to supporting returned migrants in different mechanisms, it is better to instill the chance of maltreatment the migrants could suffer in the host country for those who are on the verge to migrate to the Gulf States.

Key Words: Migration; PTSD; Depression; Gulf States; Abuse; Amhara region.

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INTRODUCTION

Migration is the process of social change whereby an individual moves from one cultural setting to another for the purposes of settling down either permanently or for a longer period of time (Bhugra & Jones, 2001). Human migration has been and still is intimately connected with the transformation of the world economy (Wakjari, 2014). Thus, people have been frequently migrated in search of food; place to stay, freedom, and security (Abebaw Minaye, 2013). People migrate to improve their economic

prospects, ensure a more secure living environment, re-unite with their family members or avoid persecution in their country of origin. These, among other reasons, motivated the 3% of the world's population who found themselves on an international migration trajectory (Barham & Boucher, 1998). Among others, labor migration as domestic work abroad is nowadays considered as an escape from a marginalized lifestyle. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) Consular Monitoring and Support Directorate, approximately 1,500 domestic workers are legally migrating to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait every day from Ethiopia. The migration of hundreds of thousands of domestic workers annually is disguised by voluntary labor migration; seeking better job opportunities and livelihood (Selamawit, 2013).

The real number of women migrating from Ethiopia and working in the Middle East/ Gulf region is probably higher than Officials figures suggest, and this is because in 1999, 17,000 Ethiopian Women were reportedly working as domestic workers in Lebanon only (Anti-Slavery International, 2006). From 2010 to 2012 the number of legal labor migrants to Saudi Arabia from all over the world showed a near 11 fold increase, while the total size of Ethiopian migrants to the Middle East increased by five folds (MOLSA, 2010).

Accordingly, many young Ethiopian women leave their country to the Gulf region is a hope of bettering their lives through jobs usually limited to domestic labor work. While some find a reasonable amount of success, most migrant workers experience serious human rights abuses that are hardly accounted for. Yet, even in the midst of all this mayhem, young Ethiopian women continue flocking to that region. According to figures from Ethiopia's Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (2012), around 200,000 Ethiopian women migrated to the Middle East is seeking employment in the domestic work industry using legal routes. The number of women migrating using illegal routes is estimated to be double that figure (Naami, 2014)

Poverty is the principal reason for migration of women to Arab countries (from the narrative data of six participants). Low academic achievement and peer pressure are additional factors. Among those interviewed sexual violence, physical violence, emotional abuse, starvation, and imprisonment were sources of their trauma (Berhanie, Abebe, Asfaw and Yemataw, 2016).

Migrants are often faced with significant challenges once they are arrived to the host country. Enduring community violence, political torture and the loss of their homes, livelihood, family and loved ones, migrants often suffer from depression, anxiety and PTSD (Daud, Klinteberg, & Rydelius, 2008; Jamil, 2002). These mental health issues are often compounded with the challenges of acculturation and adjustment to their new life, which alone can be daunting to overcome (Bemak, Chung, & Pedersen, 2003; Jamil, Nassar-McMillan, & Lambert, 2007; Amri, Nassar-McMillan, Misenheimer, & Bryan, in press), as well as the added trauma of discrimination, racism and daily confrontation (Inayat, 2007). And, a study conducted by Hasounah and Kulwicki (2007) indicated that discrimination, trauma and mental health problems are prevalent among Arab Muslim women in the U.S. The authors found out that 63% of respondents reported being discriminated against and often faced with significant challenges once they are arrived to the host country.

Women from low-income countries who migrate to the Middle East as domestic workers have psychiatric morbidity two to five times higher than the native population (Anbesse and Hanlon, 2009). Common problems reported by domestic migrants include little or no contact with their family and maltreatment and sexual harassment by employers and their sons (Anbesse and Hanlon, 2009). Moreover, the rate of suicide in the Ethiopian immigrant community is exceptionally high (Shoval & Schoen, 2007, and Palmer, 2007). Coping skills are also in evidence including spiritual sources of coping, maintenance of friendships with other Ethiopian women, and reassertion of one's cultural identity. Spiritual sources of coping were found to be an important coping mechanism among East African migrants in Australia too (Ennis, 2011).

Thus, as to the knowledge of the current researcher, most research works on returned migrants in Ethiopia were conducted just after migrants were returned from the Gulf States. Accordingly, the researchers couldn't see the longevity or the persistence of the trauma on the participants. Thus, the present research is different from the pre-existing researches due to the fact that it is conducted in a wider geographical location on the one hand-it increases the generalizability of the research and it is claimed to address an argument that psychological difficulties sometimes faded away as the passage of time even without psychological interventions.

RESEARCH DESIGN

This study employed cross sectional survey design consisting of quantitative data. The quantitative data was used to generate quantifiable data and used inferential statistics including One Way ANOVA in order to examine the difference in symptoms of depression and posttraumatic stress disorder across key demographic variables and Binary logistic regression in order to investigate the association between their vulnerabilities with their psychological challenges.

STUDY AREA

This study was conducted in five zonal administrations of the Amhara National Regional State namely South Wollo, Oromiya Special Zone, North Gondar, Awi and West Gojjam Zones. The rationale for identifying the sample zones was due to the fact that there are potential numbers of participants returned from the Gulf States as per to the Amhara Social and Labor Affairs Office.

SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

The actual numbers and places of origin (Kebele's) of Gulf state returnees in Amhara regional state is not well known but it is possible to speculate the possible areas where potential returnees are living. As long as it is difficult to obtain a list of all members of a population being studied, this study utilized multi-stage sampling technique - a type of cluster sampling technique. As a result, sample zones were purposely selected considering the presence of potential participants/returnees in the study area. Then,

comprehensive sampling technique was used to select participants from each cluster of the respective Woredas/Kebele's of each Zonal administration.

SAMPLE SIZE DETERMINATION

According to the Disaster Prevention and Food Security of Amhara Regional Administrative Office, about 49,418 migrant returnees had already registered up to January 2014. However, it was difficult to believe that all returned migrants from the Gulf States are living at the sample zones-some may be back to where they returned from and others may be moved to other places. Thus, researchers decided that all participants who were living at the sample sites at time of data collection were included. Accordingly, all representative samples were included from each cluster, thus a total of 274 Gulf state returnees are deployed for this study.

DATA SOURCE

Data was obtained from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data collected using a combination of methods including survey questionnaires, observation and reports obtained from governmental and various organizations stakeholders.

DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Both pre-established measures used to collect the relevant data but before collecting the whole data, the instruments were translated to Amharic and translated back to English language by professionals on both languages from University of Gondar in departments of Amharic and English language and literature. After the translation, instruments were validated on comparable groups of the participants in the same region which were not the study participants.

INSTRUMENTS

Self-developed questionnaires for demographic data and pre-established questionnaires like a post-traumatic stress disorder check list (PCL) and the Beck Depression Inventory Second Revision (BDI-II) were used. Pre-established instruments were used to quantify symptoms of PTSD and depression shown by the Gulf State migrant returnees living at the Amhara regional state. Before collecting the whole data, instruments were translated from English language into Amharic language then a pilot test was conducted using 30 Gulf state migrant returnees at Gondar city administration in order to determine the reliability of the instrument.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF GULF STATE MIGRANT RETURNEES

Out of the total participants, 34 (12.7%) are males and 234 (87.3%) females. Regarding the ages of the participants, 122 (45.5%) are from 18 to 25, 92 (34.3%) are the age ranged between 26 to 30 and 43(16.0%) are above 30. The table also shows that most of the participants migrated using air transport followed by foot and sea and only a few participants migrated to the Gulf state on foot. It is also reported that most participants 86 (32.1%) were exposed to multiple forms of abuse, 77 (28.7%) were never exposed to any kind of abuse and 49 (18.3%) and 31 (11.6%) were economically and physically abused respectively and the least participants i.e. 25 (9.3%) reported that they were sexually abused.

THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

The dependent variables of the study are symptoms of psychological disorders such as depression and post-traumatic stress disorder and were measured by Beck Depression Inventory-II and Post-traumatic stress Check List.

THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

There are a number of socio-economic and demographic independent variables such as age of migrants, sex of migrants, education levels and status of abuse, employment status and religion.

METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

SPSS version 20 was used to analyze the quantitative data. Accordingly, descriptive statistics were used to analyze the prevalence of psychological disorders of Gulf State migrant returnees. Moreover, various inferential statistics tools including One way ANOVA to see whether there is a statistical significant mean difference in symptoms of psychological disorders across marital and educational status of Gulf state migrant returnees and logistic binary regression to see whether history of abuse able to predict the degree of psychological disorders among the Gulf state migrant returnees in Amhara regional state.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical clearance and permission to conduct the research was obtained from Ethical Review Board of University of Gondar. Oral consent also obtained from each participant after explaining the purpose of the study. Participants were informed that the information obtained is purely anonymous and granted for research purposes. In order to ensure confidentiality, their name and other personal identifiers were not registered in the questionnaires. It was explained to the participant that they have the right to not respond for questions that would not comfortable for them and they can withdraw from the study. Finally, the questionnaire was kept locked after data entry is completed.

RESULTS

Table 2: One Way ANOVA Result across Marital and Educational Status

One Way ANOVA result on depression and post-traumatic stress disorder across marital status of Gulf State migrant returnees is reported below.

Variables		Mean	SD	F	P-value
Depression symptoms					
Marital Status	Single	21.89	15.44	9.39*	.00
	Married	14.21	12.61		
	Divorced	20.20	11.71		
Educational background	Illiterate	11.75	11.10	3.24*	.02
	Primary and secondary	19.04	13.69		
	High school	18.39	14.61		
	College and above	22.05	14.39		
PTSD symptoms					
Marital Status	Single	25.70	17.13	6.58*	.00
	Married	18.50	16.44		
	Divorced	26.92	17.21		
Educational background	Illiterate	16.94	16.20	1.68	.17
	Primary and secondary	23.15	17.63		
	High school	23.03	16.54		
	College and above	19.68	4.29		

Table 2 shows there is a statistical significant mean difference in scores of depression across single ($M = 21.89$, $SD = 15.44$), married ($M = 14.21$, $SD = 12.61$) and divorced ($M = 20.20$, $SD = 11.71$), $F(2) = 9.39$; $p < 0.05$) Gulf State migrant returnees. There is also a statistical significant mean difference in the scores of depression across those who are illiterate ($M = 11.75$, $SD = 11.10$), those who have completed primary and secondary education ($M = 19.04$, $SD = 13.69$), those who have completed high school ($M = 18.39$, $SD = 14.61$) and those who have completed college and above ($M = 22.05$, $SD = 14.39$), $F(3) = 3.24$; $p < 0.05$).

Table 1 also shows there is a statistical significant mean difference in the scores of post-traumatic stress disorder across those who are single ($M = 25.70$, $SD = 17.13$), married ($M = 18.50$, $SD = 16.44$) and divorced ($M = 26.92$, $SD = 17.21$), $F(2) = 6.58$; $p < 0.05$). However, there is no statistically significant mean difference in symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder across the educational status of Gulf State migrant returnees.

Table 3: Binary Logistic Regression Result Depression and PTSD across Abuse Status

Binary Logistic regression result on depression and post-traumatic stress disorder across abuse status of Gulf State migrant returnees is reported below.

Variables	Groups	Depression		Crude OR (95 C.I.)	Adjusted OR (95 C.I.)
		Asymptomatic	Symptomatic		
Abuses	Not Abused	124	15	1	1
	Abused	58	71	35.763 (14.675, 87.157) *	37.867(15.058, 95.225) *
Age Ranges		Number			
	18-25	122		1	
	26-30	92		.737 (.428, 1.268)	
	>31	43		.470 (.228, .966) *	
Variables	Group	PTSD		Crude OR (95 C.I.)	Adjusted OR (95 C.I.)
		Asymptomatic	Symptomatic		
Abuses	Not Abused	72	55	1	1
	Abused	5	135	68.160 (23.523, 197.501)*	63.427(21.848, 184.129) *
Age Range		Number			
	18-25	122		1	
	26-30	92		1.131(.655, 1.955)	
	>31	43		.555(.273, 1.126)	

Table 3 shows that Gulf State migrant returnees who were exposed to abuse or violence are 37.8% times (95% CI [15.058, 95.225]) more likely exhibited symptoms of depression when compared with those who were not exposed to any kinds of abuse or violence. The table also shows that Gulf state migrant returnees who were exposed to abuse or violence were 63.4% times (95% CI [21.848, 184.129]) more likely exhibited symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder when they are compared with those who were not exposed to abuse or violence. However, the study shows that both depression and posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms are not predicted/ varied by the age range of the participants.

DISCUSSION

The present research indicated that migrant returnees from the Gulf States were encountered with ranges of sexual, emotional and physical abuses staring from the routes of migration to their destiny. However, those who legally migrated to those states were more likely than those who migrated illegally in encountering different forms of abuse. Other study also indicated that while some women are treated well, a significant number of Ethiopian domestic workers in the Middle East face undue hardships and abuse in the form of low or withheld wages, poor working and living conditions, virtual absence of social protection, denial of freedom of association and workers' rights, discrimination and social

exclusion. Moreover, there are increasing reports of physical, sexual and psychological abuse and, in some instances has led to death (Naami, 2014). As a result, participants are highly vulnerable to develop symptoms of depression and posttraumatic stress disorder. Other research findings indicated that depression is high likely of co-morbid with posttraumatic stress disorder among refugees and migrants. For example, traumatic events have been associated with depression among Cambodian adolescents in Oregon (Clarke, Sack, and Goff, 1993)], refugee children in London (Heptinstall, Sethna and Taylor, 2004), Latin American immigrant children (McCloskey, Southwick, Fernandez-Esquer and Locke, 1995) and Somalian adolescent refugees (Ellis, MacDonald, Lincoln, Cabral, 2008) in the U.S.

The present study indicated that the proportion of female migrant returnees from the Gulf state outnumbered their male counter parts. Not only returned females are outnumbered males, they were also migrated to the Gulf States in higher number than males. They are migrating partly because of there are limited employment opportunities in their place of origins and they anticipated that they would get better payment than the payment they would receive from local domestic works. However, most participants reported that things were not up to their expectation after their arrival in the host countries. Some reported that they were forced to live alone in a big compartments and that creates feeling of alienation, perception of being ostracized and discriminated. A study conducted by Briggs (2014) indicated that domestic workers make up the majority of registered women migrants in the Gulf. It is due to the fact that females have migrated to the Middle Eastern countries in search of better jobs so as to fulfill their livelihood and to support their family members. Similarly, a study conducted by Selamawit (2013) found that labor migration as domestic workers of women is considered an escape from their major economic and social life obstacles in many ways, poor social and economic status and denial of the right to access resources and the increment of violence from time to time in their place of origin.

Another body of research conducted by ILO (2011) indicated that people of developing countries such as Ethiopia, mainly consider migration as the only means of achieving better living opportunities which in many cases makes them vulnerable to different kinds of exploitative conditions in the destination countries. Such conditions include long working hours, unbearable workload, having to work in other households, denial of wages and the like. In line to this, Birhanie et al (2016) narrated from a 27-year-old migrant returnee who had been in Beirut for 3 years and in Dubai for 5 years indicated her cause for migration was poverty and peer pressure. She reported to the researchers that she encountered emotional abuse by the children of employing families. The researchers also uncovers that her employers themselves were not abusive except for the heavy workload they demanded. She also reported that everything took a long time to become adjusted because she feared that she would never be able to learn their language and their different eating customs, and they criticized her dress. Their home felt too big to stay alone in during the day. She also said that she ashamed of her identity when people assumed that all Ethiopians had been raised in famine and made remarks like ‘Are there potatoes in your country? Others told her, ‘All you Ethiopians are poor beggars.

The present research revealed that 73.3% of the participants were exposed to different forms of abuse in their stay in the Gulf States. The forms of abuse to which they were exposed for includes sexual abuse, physical abuse, economically abused and multiple forms of abuse (those participants who encountered with more than one forms of abuse). In line to this, local study conducted on a 22-year-old Muslim woman who had worked in Dubai reported: "I encountered attempted sexual violence with two sons of employers. They characterized me using derogatory words like dog and other animals. The madam beat me when she was angry. I was raped and then imprisoned because of my unwanted pregnancy from the rape. I became suicidal and resolved to return home. Despite all that happened, I faced no challenge regarding my identity. I met with Ethiopian women friends every Sunday and telephoned them frequently. I saw a girl there who got mad at her abuse by shouting back as characterizing her as I am dirt (Berhanie, Abebe, Asfaw and Yemataw, 2016).

In the same token, local study conducted on this segment of population documented that many Ethiopian migrant returnees from different Middle Eastern countries experience sexual, physical and emotional abuse, starvation, imprisonment, and difficulty adapting to a different culture (Ambess, et al., 2009). Following these experiences, migrants reported such symptoms as headache, stomachache, irritability, suicidal thoughts, pessimism and sadness (Birhanie, et al, 2016). The researcher also saw such symptoms as ranges of depression, suicidal ideation and alienation from social encounters while giving counseling services to this segment of population as a result of the multitude of abuses. This again resulted the prevalence of common mental disorders (CMD) on migrant returnees from different Middle East countries. For example, local research on this particular population indicated that the prevalence of common mental disorders (CMD) in this population of migrant returnees from different Middle East countries and South Africa was found to be 27.6% (using a cut-off point of ≥ 8). The prevalence of CMD we found in this study is higher than what has been reported in the general population in Ethiopia (both from rural and urban areas). The prevalence rates reported in these studies range from 5 to 22%, although different cut-off values were used. This suggests that migrant returnees are more likely to have symptoms related to CMD than the general population (Habtamu, Minaye and Zeleke, 2017).

The present finding report that there is a statistical significant mean difference in scores of depression across the marital status of migrant returnees from the Gulf States. Single migrant returnees exhibited a higher degree of symptoms of depression than their divorced and married counter parts. It might be due to the fact that the mean ages of the participants were 27 years old. Thus, they could anticipate that they are above the average age of marriage. Thus, it could further escalate their psychological uneasiness/pressure. However, it is not consistent with a study conducted to assess the nature of marital status on the psychological well-being of the participants. The study revealed that the death of a spouse is often perceived as a severe life stressor (widowhood effect), leading to the loss of psychological, social and economic resources and subsequently bearing deleterious health implications (Elwert and Christakis, 2008).

There is also a statistical significant mean difference in the scores of depression across the educational status of migrant returnees. The Tukey post hoc analysis revealed those who completed college and above scored a higher degree of symptoms of depression than their illiterate, primary level and high school completed counterparts. The researcher hypothesized that those who completed above college level scored higher scores of depression due to the fact that being unemployed in what they trained for might add psychological pressure on the vulnerabilities of Gulf States migrant returnees. The Tukey post hoc analysis revealed those who found to be divorced exhibited a higher degree of post-traumatic stress disorder than their single and married counterparts. However, there is no statistical significant mean difference in symptoms of PTSD across the educational status of the Gulf State migrant returnees. Different body of researches indicated that the psychological vulnerabilities of at risk segments of population could be determined by the key demographic characteristics of the participants. In this regards, a study conducted in USA indicated that a multivariate model showed that those participants living in an unsafe neighborhood, having many arguments with parents, history of physical abuse, and current concern for physical safety determined posttraumatic stress level of the participants (Fawzi, Smith, Betancourt, Lilly Marcelin, Michelle Klopner, Kerim Munir, Anna C. Muriel, Catherine and Mukherjee, 2009). Consistent with results from this study, many prior studies among refugee youth have demonstrated an association between traumatic events and PTSD (Allden et al., 1996; Kataoka, et al, 2003; Mohlen, et al., 2005 and Papageorgiou et al., 2000).

The present study reveals that those found to be abused or exposed to violence are 37.8% times more likely to exhibited symptoms of depression than those who were not abused or exposed to violence. Those participants found to be abused reported different forms of violence during their stay in the Gulf States including; physical, sexual and economical and multiple forms of abuse. Another research reported that migrants flee from their countries are often faced with significant challenges once they are arriving to the host country. Enduring community violence, political torture and the loss of their homes, livelihood, family and loved ones, refugees often suffer from depression, anxiety and PTSD (Daud, Klinteberg, & Rydelius, 2008; Jamil et al., 2002). And, Anbesse (2009) investigated the experiences of Ethiopian female domestic migrants in the Middle Eastern countries are experienced significant threats to mental health included exploitative treatment, enforced cultural isolation, undermining of cultural identity and disappointment in not achieving expectations. Participants reported that self-affirmation of their cultural identity and establishing socio-cultural supports helped to counter the other negative forces.

The binary logistic regression result also uncovered that those who found to be abused are 63.4 % times more likely to exhibit symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder than those who were not. Similarly, a team of researchers indicated that 60.6% of patients reported at least one potentially traumatic events and multiple potentially traumatic events being frequent. As expected, the most common trauma reported was “material deprivation” (32.7%), which is often one main reason to emigrate. The other most frequent PTE were, respectively, “disappearance, death or injury of loved ones”, “bodily injury”, “war-like conditions”, “witnessed violence to others”, “torture”, and “forced confinement and coercion”

(Aragona, Pucci, Mazzetti, Maisano and Geraci, 2013). Accordingly, victims are highly likely of exhibiting ranges of psychological disorder like depression and posttraumatic stress disorder. A study conducted on refugees indicated a prevalence of depression and PTSD of 14.0% and 11.6%, respectively; 7.9% of students suffered from co-morbid PTSD and depression. Existing literature from refugee, immigrant and displaced youth indicates a wide range of prevalence estimates for depression and PTSD (Fawzi, et al., 2009).

CONCLUSION

- The proportion of female migrant returnees from Gulf state outnumbered their male counterparts due to the fact that women migrate to the area in search of a good job and better life as part of supporting their livelihood. It is also reported that most of the participants were exposed to different forms of abuse and vulnerability which caused them to develop different kinds of psychological difficulties like depression and post-traumatic stress disorder.
- The present research found that there is a statistically significant mean difference in the scores of depression across marital and educational status of the participants. The findings also revealed there is a statistical significant mean difference in the scores of post-traumatic stress disorder across the marital status of the participants. However, there is no statistically significant mean difference in scores of PTSD across the educational levels of the participants.
- The research investigated that those found to be exposed to different forms of abuse exhibited higher degree of both depression and post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms than the non-abuse counterparts.

RECOMMENDATION

- The present research failed to deliver any kind of intervention for those who are symptomatic of both depression and post-traumatic stress disorder. Therefore, it is recommended for further researchers to conduct interventions based research on Gulf State migrant returnees so as to ease their degree of psychological difficulties.
- Governmental and non-governmental organizations working with women and youth, in addition to supporting migrant returnees in many ways, it is better debriefing them the expected difficulties for those who are on the edge of migrating to the Gulf States for the search of better job.
- The present research is purely quantitative research that could not investigate the lived psychosocial experiences/ difficulties returned migrants are faced whilst they were in the host country. Thus, further researchers strongly recommend to take in to account the psychosocial vulnerabilities of returned migrants would well understand using mixed research method.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

There are no potential conflicts of interest or any financial or personal relationships with other people or organizations that could inappropriately bias conduct and findings of this study.

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